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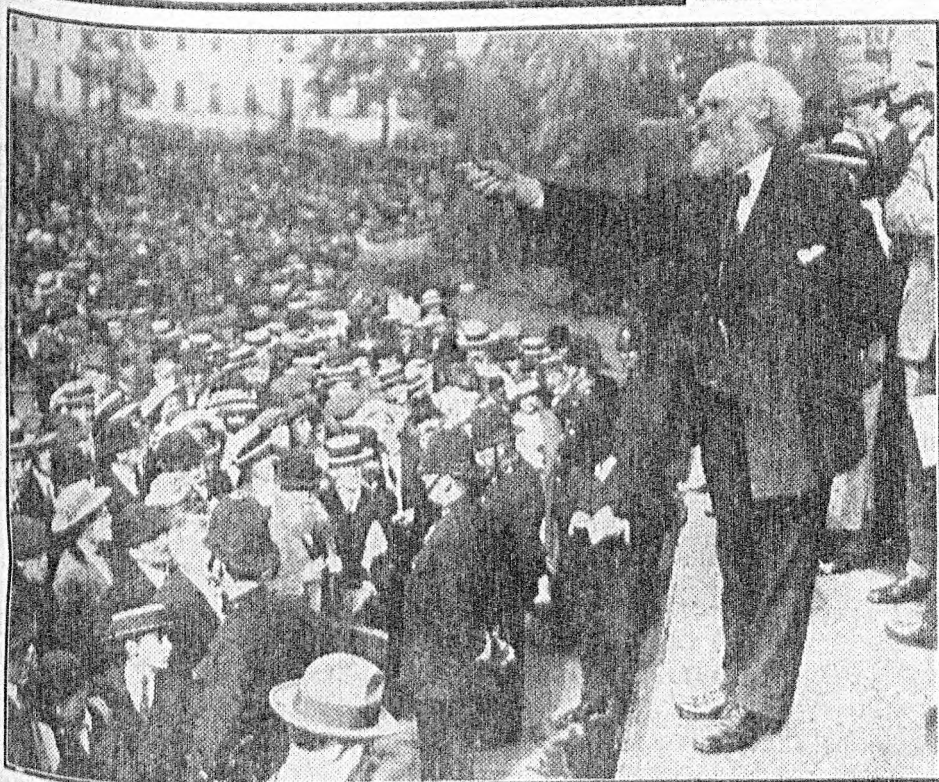
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# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,051 August 17, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)



Keir Hardie, life-long pacifist and founder of the modern British Labour movement, addressing an anti-war rally in Trafalgar Square on August 2, 1914.

This rally, held two days before the outbreak of World War I, was followed by a split in the Labour movement. The Labour Party supported the war. The Independent Labour Party, with Keir Hardie at its head, opposed it.

Before the division, a manifesto had been issued above the signatures of Keir Hardie and Arthur Henderson calling on "the British working class," to "act promptly and vigorously in the interests of peace."

"Hold vast demonstrations in London and every industrial centre... There is no time to lose. Already, by secret agreement and understandings of which the democracies of the civilised world know only by rumour, steps are being taken which may fling us all into the fray. Workers, stand together, therefore, for peace. Combine and conquer the militarist enemy and the self-seeking Imperialists today once and for all."

"Down with class rule! Down with the rule of brute force! Down with war! Up with the peaceful rule of the people!"

## Centenary of Keir Hardie

By EMRYS HUGHES, MP

"WHAT do you think is the greatest danger that faces humanity in the Twentieth Century?" This was the question that an American newspaper put to prominent public men at the beginning of 1900.

Keir Hardie's reply was "Militarism."

The Boer War was raging and Hardie was one of its strongest opponents. He had joined the committee that Radicals and Quakers had set up to carry out a campaign of opposition to the war.

In the Labour Leader, which he edited, he wrote week by week criticising Government policy and attacking Joseph Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes and those whom he argued had led the country into an unjust and unnecessary war.

### HIS SPIRIT LIVES

By Fenner Brockway, MP

SOMETIMES wonder when I am in the House of Commons what Keir Hardie would be saying or doing if he were alive now and sitting on the benches beside me.

He would certainly be an explosive force. I think he would feel rather a stranger in the Labour Party, which he established to be the political expression of the working class.

Whilst he welcomed convinced Socialists from other classes he would be surprised and perhaps a little doubtful about the high proportion of members who come from comfortable homes and have had expensive education.

He would, I am sure, often be sad about the policy of the Labour Party.

This would be specially the case in regard to peace.

Hardie abhorred all militarism, called conscription the badge of slavery, and stood for the solidarity of the workers of the world against war.

His voice would ring out today against military preparations and aggressive diplomacy, sometimes unfortunately supported from the Labour benches.

His strong, determined voice would certainly resound in the House against colonial oppression.

I remember now that the first speech I ever delivered was based on his book on India after his visit there in 1906.

Both in India and South Africa he aroused the bitter antagonism of the white communities by his defence of the Indian and African peoples.

He would passionately denounce today what is happening in Cyprus and Kenya. How I wish he were at our side in the House of Commons!

But his spirit lives on, and whenever a Socialist voice is raised in opposition to injustice, imperialism or war, Keir Hardie still speaks.

He wrote, "The war is a capitalists' war, begotten by capitalist money, led into being by a perjured mercenary capitalist press and fathered by unscrupulous politicians."

Hardie became known as one of the most prominent of the "Pro-Boers" and his meetings were frequently broken up and he was repeatedly shouted down. After a rowdy meeting at Glasgow, where Lloyd George was one of the speakers, Hardie organised the stewards and after the meeting the mob marched to the Labour Leader offices, and smashed the windows.

In the midst of the Boer War at the Khaki Election, Hardie was elected for Merthyr Tydfil, he defiantly declared, "a Pro-Boer." His first speech in the 1900 Parliament was a vigorous attack on the Government's war policy and he continued his opposition until the end of the war.

When the Liberal Government was returned in 1906 Hardie assessed the members of the new Liberal Cabinet on their attitude to the Boer War. Sir Edward Grey, Haldane and Asquith had supported the war.

### OPPOSED WAR

Hardie was extremely distrustful of them and when Haldane, who had become War Minister, proceeded to re-organise the army and established the Territorials, Hardie denounced the scheme, arguing that it paved the way for conscription and was an instalment of the militarism which Haldane had imported from Germany.

Hardie had become the first Chairman of the Labour Party and under his leadership the Labour Party opposed the Haldane plans.

Hardie strongly opposed the Army and Navy estimates and in the Press and platform drew attention to the dangers of a war with Germany that was inevitable as a result of the establishment of the Triple Entente and Sir Edward Grey's diplomacy.

Hardie did everything in his power to counteract the anti-German propaganda of Robert Blatchford and the Daily Mail.

He was a prominent figure at the meetings of the Socialist International along with August Bebel of Germany and Jean Jaures of France and advocated a policy of a General Strike to Stop War.

When war came in 1914 Keir Hardie, along with Ramsay MacDonald, opposed Britain entering the war and was frequently interrupted in his speech in the House of Commons and bitterly attacked by the patriotic press.

He was howled down early in August 1914 when he went to his constituency in Aberdare and declared his opposition to the war.

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## MORE SUEZ PROTESTS!

# 500 MARCH ON DOWNING ST.

## "OPPOSE WAR POLICIES"

—urge speakers

By Olwen Battersby

"TAKE it to Downing Street, take it now, let us all take it," from all parts of the hall the voices came.

It was not enough that there had been four meetings proceeding simultaneously; that men and women were standing in all rooms; that the resolution in question had been passed unanimously; that Fenner Brockway, MP, and Mrs. Barbara Castle, MP, had promised to proceed to Downing Street forthwith.

The audience demanded a march of protest; they got it.

After the meeting, an estimated 500 of the audience of 1,000 persons, led by Fenner Brockway and Barbara Castle, spontaneously marched from Caxton Hall to the Prime Minister's residence to deliver the resolution.

The resolution, which was handed to Sir Anthony Eden later that evening, acknowledged the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company as a matter within Egypt's domestic jurisdiction and condemned the British Government for ignoring the procedures and flouting the Charter of the United Nations, by seeking to impose control of the canal by force.

It called on the Government to propose to the Conference meeting on August 16 that questions still at issue be referred to the appropriate organs of the United Nations.

"Only one thing in my view can prevent war," said Kingsley Martin, Editor of the New Statesman, "a campaign such as this."

"We must believe in disarmament and not in unity, he continued.

"If the rank and file will form itself into a strong and vocal body of opposition, then the Leader of the Labour Party will follow the rank and file. No Government dare go to war with the opposition and public opinion against it."

"The one thing this Government has done is to unite a large proportion of the world against its own policy," said Fenner Brockway, in opening the meeting.

"We have now less material power than we used to have," said Fenner Brockway. "Some of us hoped that we should have greater moral power. Instead of that the British government has reduced our moral authority to a lower point than I have known for fifty years."

### HELP FOR POVERTY?

Maurice Orbach, MP, who had "the great privilege of visiting Egypt on three occasions and could speak of its cities, its towns and its villages," stressed the evils of British imperial rule and the conditions of the Egyptian people.

"I met many of her people," he said, "they were living in fetid slums of Cairo, in mud huts, in conditions of the utmost squalor, with deficiency of diet, dirty water, cholera, typhus and ophthalmic disease."

Now for the first time Colonel Nasser had put before the Egyptian people great schemes for irrigation, for the improvement of the arid soil, and for the betterment of food, clothing and shelter through industrialisation.

What did the British Government do but try to wean the Egyptian people away from Colonel Nasser? They accused him of being Fascist; the British Government had itself invited Fascist Spain to attend the conference!

He believed, nevertheless, the conference could be one step towards a United Nations agreement in regard to all the great waterways of the world. That should be the principle on which we took our stand.

### INTERNATIONALISATION?

Dr. Donald Soper stressed the "entire perversity" of the present Government's policy which pretended to adhere to the United Nations, yet by-passed the organisation where its own particular interests were concerned. By setting into motion the whole apparatus of violence before entering on consideration, negotiation or consultation, it had prejudiced the issue in a wicked and irresponsible way.

"This Government has betrayed everything this country has stood for in its most noble moments," said Mr. A. J. P. Taylor.

Whoever talked about internationalising the Suez Canal, Britain was in no position to do so, because she had resisted all efforts to internationalise the Canal in the past. So long as Egypt was prepared to be a British puppet, we were the most outspoken advocates of Egypt's independence.

"If we believe so much in internationalism, let us remember that we ourselves possess some key positions in the world: Gibraltar, Aden, Singapore, and what about Portsmouth and the Port of London?" he concluded.

### NEXT WEEK

LESLIE HALE is among an all-party group of MPs which left England for China this week. Next week in Peace News he writes about his "First Thoughts on China," an introduction to the series of exclusive despatches which he will be sending Peace News during the coming weeks.

## Delegation urges:

## "SUSPEND MOBILISATION"

Peace News Reporter

AS Peace News went to press on Wednesday a deputation organised by the Peace Pledge Union was at the Foreign Office.

They were asking the Government to suspend mobilisation and to use the London Conference as a stepping stone to negotiations with Colonel Nasser, not as a means of dictating to him.

The deputation followed correspondence between the General Secretary of the PPU, Stuart Morris, and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, who is expected to chair the Conference.

Members of the deputation were Miss Vera Brittain, a Sponsor of the PPU; Hugh Brock, Chairman of Executive and Editor of Peace News; Fenner Brockway, MP, Chairman of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors; Emrys Hughes, MP, Hon. Treasurer; Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, DBE, FRS, Sponsor; Stuart Morris; Sybil Morrison, PPU Organiser; J. Allen Skinner, Associate Editor of Peace News.

A letter is also going to every delegate at the London Conference. With it will be enclosed a copy of Roy Sherwood's "Suez Commentary," 10,000 copies of which were re-printed in leaflet form by the PPU last week.

The Union's views on the use of force in the present crisis were set out in the following letter (also accompanied by "Suez Commentary") sent to the Prime Minister last week:

"We have followed with the most careful attention your statements on the Suez Canal

ON PAGE SIX

### SUEZ COMMENTARY II

## Threats are madness

By Roy Sherwood

THE ineptitude of the British and

French attempt to deal with the situation created by President Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal by means of threats and a display of force is now beginning to show in all its inglorious magnitude.

The two Governments have been out-manoeuvred decisively by the Egyptian offer to call a conference of all the users of the Canal, announced at the same time as President Nasser's refusal to take part in the London meeting limited to participants of Britain's and France's choice. And what answer other than evasion is there to the Soviets' carefully reasoned criticism of the British-French-American arrangements and to Marshal Tito's well-founded complaint about not having been invited in spite of the fact that Yugoslavia "is the rightful heir to the maritime rights of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (which was a signatory of the 1888 Convention) and is also a large user of the Canal?"

They now stand before the world with every appearance of being guilty of having tried to settle the issue by a conference "packed" in their favour; and, according to some estimates, they cannot even be certain of that conference ending with the kind of resolution which they have announced as their objective.

Even on this point of detail the Foreign Office has blundered in a way that reflects on its sincerity. For India's acceptance had at first been held up on account of the wording of the British statement that the conference was "to discuss the internationalisation of the Canal."

Asked about this at a Press conference, the Foreign Office spokesman said that while this was one of the principles on which the convening powers had agreed, acceptance of the invitation to attend did not necessarily imply acceptance of the principle of internationalisation.

With that in mind, the Daily Herald used a double-column headline, "No Strings for Suez Talks" on August 8 for an article by its foreign editor, W. N. Ever, explaining that the News Department of the Foreign Office wanted "to make it clear that the principle (Daily Herald italics) of nationalisation would be a matter for discussion" and that the meeting was not to be "a rubber-stamp conference."

Whether the Daily Herald went to Press particularly early or The Times was given last-minute information withheld from other papers, I do not know. But at the same time as readers of the one paper could learn that the London talks were not to be hampered by pre-fixed restrictions, the readers of the other, after having been given the same news, found the following continuation paragraph under the cross-heading "Some Misunderstanding":

"Last night, however, the Foreign Office

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## WAR-LIKE GESTURES

IN announcing in the Indian Parliament the decision of the Indian Government to be represented at the Suez Canal conference to be held in London, Mr. Nehru deprecated the violence of the British reaction to the action of Colonel Nasser.

He referred to the formidable display of force that the British Government was arranging as "war-like gestures," and went on to say, "I would still hope that they are not war preparations."

War-like gestures! What, when other people do it, we call sabre-rattling! And one of the world's outstanding statesmen is constrained to hope that the British Government is a Government of sabre-rattlers, because that is the least damaging construction that can be put upon what is taking place.

Sir Anthony Eden declares that the Government is not seeking a solution by force. He wants peace. So, for that matter, did Hitler.



**BUT** there is no doubt about the air of menace that accompanies the actions of the British and French Governments in the present situation.

We have, of course, been familiar with this kind of thing many times in the past. It is the first time that it has happened, however, since the statesmen have begun to build their hopes of a peaceful world on the safeguard of universal terror.

This deployment of the means to war by Britain and France is the first substantial threat of the "stalemate" era, which opened when the Powers came together at Geneva and recognised in common that resort to war must henceforth be put out of their calculations as a factor in the settlement of disputes between nations, because war in the future, if the major powers become involved, would mean the probability of universal destruction.



**WHAT** is happening today is a menacing indication of just how precarious is this "stalemate" type of peace through fear and the matching of "deterrents".

Britain and the US decide to "put Nasser in his place" by a brusque and unannounced announcement of the withholding of promised aid. Nasser has to face the danger of being shaken in his position unless he can find a counter-stroke.

He finds his counter-stroke in an equally brusque and unmannerly decision regarding the Suez, and not only saves his face but gets a united Egyptian people behind him.

The British Government is concerned about economical transit for its oil supplies. The French Government fears that a success for Nasser will make even more hopeless its hopeless struggle in Algeria.

So then the sabre-rattling begins. Adjustments in the alliances begin to be made. There is a lining up on two sides throughout the world. There are voices in France that begin to call for the enforced reoccupation of the Canal Zone, and there are similar voices in Britain, like those of Captain Waterhouse for the Conservatives and Mr. R. T. Paget for Labour, that seem to be calling for the same thing.



**THE** trouble with sabre-rattling is that if its object refuses to be intimidated by it, there comes a time when the rattler has to choose between appearing pusillanimous and drawing the sabre.

The sabre is drawn in the hope that the theories of the strategists of a carefully limited warfare—the active expression of the "graduated deterrent" conception—will prove to have been well-founded.

When the interests in the outcome of the conflict are not limited but are world-wide, however, the struggle quickly becomes one between the two power blocs, and there will be an inevitable progression from "conventional" weapons to "tactical" atomic weapons and then to the A-bomb and the H-bomb in general destruction.

The conference that is now meeting in London will, it may be hoped, provide a cooling-off period before the steps are taken that will bring to an end the era that we mark with the letters "A.D." and the beginning of a new and painful era dating from the great explosions.

If there is such a cooling-off period, Britain will have time to consider that even the possibility of a future for mankind is now based upon the shifting sands of traditional ideas of power and might in foreign relationships, and to begin to formulate new ideas of an unarmed diplomacy.

## Suez and the revolt against the West

A FEW days ago I received a letter from one of our leading intellectuals, not a pacifist and a fairly vigorous anti-Communist, which contained this astonishing statement: "All the Kremlin need do is to hold on for a decade or so and the world will be theirs."

He ascribed this prospect of easy victory for the Communist bloc to the policy "if it can be called such, not only of the US but of the entire West," a policy he characterised as "inept and stupid."

The way in which the West—in this case the British and French governments even more than the American—is reacting to Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal bears out my correspondent's apprehension in the most striking fashion.

### NO MORAL POSITION

There is no doubt something high handed about the Egyptian Premier's behaviour.

He is plainly very angry and given to inflammatory rhetoric in a situation where his people do not need much to set their hearts aflame.

There is probably ground for questioning the legality of some aspects of his programme relative to operation of the Canal.

But objective commentators seem to think that in itself the act of nationalising the Canal is within the bounds of accepted international behaviour.

To date nothing has been done to interfere with shipping, except the continuance of the interdict against

### LETTER FROM USA

by A. J. Muste

Israeli shipping which has been a clear violation of proper practice but has not outraged the Western Big Three sufficiently to lead them to do anything about it which Arab nations might not like.

Save, therefore, for this exception which the Western powers are in no moral position to bring into the present discussion, Nasser has done nothing to cast doubt on his intention or ability to run the Canal in the public interest of the community of nations provided Western governments are willing to be co-operative in the matter of technical personnel while Egyptian replacements are being trained.

It is not even necessary to read between the lines—it is all in the heavy print—of the official communiques and especially of the speeches in Parliament to see that what so outrages the Western governments is Nasser's assertion of nationalism and independence; the further revolt against the West which his example may inspire in Algeria and elsewhere; the threat to Europe's oil supplies from the Middle East; and the uneasy surmise that the Kremlin is giving Nasser substantial backing and strengthening its own position in the Middle East.

In other words, Britain and France are faced with the prospect of another unfavourable shift in the power picture.

**THE** long and reasoned reply of the Russian Government to the invitation to attend the Suez Canal Conference is something that should be thought about carefully.

There is nothing of the vehemence that used to be found in Russian statements on international issues. It is a calm and detached statement of the issues involved and the fact that there is implied a heavy condemnation of the steps that Britain and France have taken, with the ready acquiescence of the US—although later the Pentagon seems to have been having some second thoughts on the matter—can only be felt to be justified by anybody who does not discount any pronouncement by Russia before it is made.

There is nothing in this statement that could not have been said by Mr. Nehru if he had developed his views on the subject at similar length. What is here set forth will represent the views of the whole of the "uncommitted" nations, and while it can be taken for granted that it will also be supported by those who are committed to the Russian bloc, there will be no such unanimity among those who are associated with the Western bloc.

The plain fact of the matter is that in its first reaction to the action of the Egyptian Government, the British Government, encouraged by the French, lost its head.

The Conference of the Powers will provide time for it to recover itself, but it must not be expected that Britain can come out of this business without a somewhat crestfallen aspect.

Helped by the moderate statement that accompanied Colonel Nasser's refusal to be represented at the Conference the Egyptians have scored a victory in this matter before the talks begin.

### Eisenhower to Bulganin

**THE** letter from President Eisenhower to Marshal Bulganin seems unfortunately to confirm the most uncharitable interpretation that can be put upon the attitude of the US Government since Russia accepted a forces "ceiling" of 2,500,000 for the major powers.

It should be remembered that Russia had previously accepted a proposal for a maximum of 1,500,000, which equally was initiated by the West and that the US then retreated from this proposal. President Eisenhower evidently attaches considerable importance to his letter and as there is a careful omission of any reference to the Russian acceptance of this later substantially modified proposal it is to be feared that the American desire is to bury this too.

There is, of course, a heavy emphasis upon this open skies proposal, the case for which is argued with a silly-clever disingenuousness, for if the Russians are forced to give their basic reasons for their non-acceptance this can only be done through the admission of the obvious fact that the Russian order is much more

illiberal than that of America—which is saying quite a deal—and that consequently the Russians are able to obtain a much more considerable knowledge of the disposition of the various means of warfare in the USA than the American Government is with regard to Russia.

It is too much to expect that the Russian Government should be ready

## Suez Disarmament Marxism H-tests

to throw away the military advantages that it obtains from the absence of liberal standards in Russia.

President Eisenhower remarks that what he proposed was designed to make clear "to each other that neither of us is preparing a sudden massive attack on the other." The Russian objection is that the Eisenhower proposal, with the wonderful facilities for aerial photography that are now available, will not only give a picture of such massing preparations, but will also provide a complete survey of suitable targets.

### Test U.S. further

**WE** believe, nevertheless, that the Russians would do well to accept the Eisenhower proposal and see what happens.

They should draw the moral from the fate of the proposals for maxima to the armed forces that they have agreed to accept. Immediately the US Government has started to hedge. We believe that the same thing could quite easily happen with regard to President Eisenhower's "open skies" proposal.

It has still to be ascertained whether President Eisenhower's proposal would receive the endorsement of Congress if its full implications had to be faced. The Russian Government might do well to find out.

### A jury and Marx

**A** NEW development in trial by jury has recently been recorded in the USA.

Six people were under charge of seeking to overthrow the Government. The evidence against them did not seem to be adequate, but they were apparently admitted that they were Marxists. The jury therefore sent out for the works of Karl Marx, and

after taking a period of ten hours in which to study them, it found that all those under charge were guilty.

One would like to have been present to follow the mental processes of the members of this jury as they arrived at this conclusion.

We should find it entertaining to listen to an exposition from the members of the jury coming new to Marx of the first profound section of "Capital" dealing with commodities after they had spent an afternoon and evening on it; but doubtless this was skipped and the members of the jury occupied themselves in looking for implicating texts.

It must be said, however, that Marxists themselves—and not only Communists—provide a good deal of justification for this type of ridiculous procedure. So many of them treat Marx in the way the less intelligent sectarians treat the Bible, finding in a principal use in his writings in a logic-chopping treatment of texts and their exegesis. The writings of Marx, like the Scriptures, are attractive only to thinkers. They make a strong appeal to minds that find thought a burden and prefer to substitute a search for suitable texts that may be quoted.

It is more than time that men ceased to be "Marxists", however great the help they may get from Marx's powerful mind. It is the cult of error from which stems "the cult of personality". It is to be observed that even in the speech of Khrushchev throwing light on the truth of the Stalin era, not only does the cult of the holy Marx remain intact, but the cult of the holy Lenin is added to it.

### Freedom of seas

**IT** is a grim recollection, while the British Government is engaged in its sabre-rattling exercises to secure that there shall be freedom of transit through the Suez, that at one time Britain was equally prepared to storm and threaten in order to maintain "freedom of the seas".

This is what its great navy was for. The British, together with other governments, have just been notified that their vessels are now once more free to enter a great area of the Pacific that had been placed "out of bounds" by the U.S. Government. The US Atomic Energy Commission has announced that it is now safe for ships and aeroplanes to enter the zone which has been forbidden as a potential danger area during the testing of this year's series of A-bombs and H-bombs.

The prohibited area covered 375,000 square miles, a considerably greater space than the whole area covered by the United States itself.

## From the Editor's Notebook

### "Badge of the slave"

**KEIR** HARDIE'S words "Conscription is the badge of a slave," were well and truly underlined by Mr. Robert Carr, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour in the House of Commons on July 24.

Replying to a debate on a hardship case he said . . . "a small family business, built up over the years and representing a family's savings, may have to be disposed of in order that a man may carry out his National Service . . ."

"Deferment is not, nor was it intended to be, a means of alleviating personal hardship . . . if it becomes clear that an applicant can make no other arrangement for the conduct of his business, then the business must, if necessary, be disposed of."

### At last!

**THE** decision to place a bust of Keir Hardie in the Chess Room at the House of Commons marks the end of a twenty year battle by MPs to gain recognition for this pioneer Labour MP.

### Continued help

**WHEN** Peace News was founded twenty years ago, the mother of Humphrey Moore, the first editor, was an enthusiastic helper and firm believer in the new venture.

She stayed that way, and after her death this year we received a small legacy under her will. Because of the devoted work of hundreds like her Peace News was still there to benefit from her final gesture of support.

A form of bequest can be in the following terms: . . . I give the sum of £ . . . (say . . . pounds) free of duty to Peace News Limited the principal place of business of which is at 3 Blackstock Road, Stoke Newington, in the County of London.

### Cape flats

**READERS** who are aware of the fine work being done in South Africa by CAFDA, the Cape Flats

Distress Association (described by Reginald Reynolds in a profile of Oscar Wollheim in Peace News last year), will be saddened by the heavy rain is bringing great hardship to the coloured families inhabiting shacks at Cape Flats.

Two hundred calls for help came within three days to the Acting Warden, Mr. D. Findling, from people in the "extremity of suffering."

### Great is the need

**"A** TYPICAL case is one of a family of nine including a newborn child." Mr. Findling told a Cape Argus reporter. "This family is living in a small one-roomed shack (shack). The roof is leaking so badly that there is not a foot of dry shelter in the room."

"The earthen floor is under water, the man is ill and unemployed, the family has no income whatever."

"We have done what we can by giving them clothing, food and a few sheets of corrugated iron to repair the roof."

"So great has been the demand for clothing and blankets that our relief supplies for the winter are almost gone."

### Bitter cold

**A** CAFDA soup kitchen was expected to supply 100 gallons of soup a day.

"For this we are in urgent need of meat and vegetables of all kinds," says Mr. Findling. "Bread too is in constant demand. Even stale bread will do."

Those of us in Europe who seldom think of the inhabitants experiencing other than warm sunny days. It's winter time in the Cape now, bitterly cold with heavy and hail.



a monthly column by  
**STUART MORRIS**

## The Bishops and hanging

THE bench of Bishops did not make a good showing in the debate on Capital Punishment in the House of Lords. Although most of the Bishops entitled to sit and vote as Lords Spiritual supported the second reading, of those who spoke only the Bishops of Chichester, Exeter and Manchester stressed the need for abolition.

Neither of the two Archbishops are abolitionists and they only gave qualified approval of the Measure at that stage in the hope that the Bill would be subsequently amended and modified.

The Archbishop of Canterbury condemned as mistaken the belief that the death penalty was always unchristian and wrong, and accepted the doctrine that the State had the right in the name of God and society to impose the death penalty.

The Archbishop of York described as a fallacy the assumption that the New Testament disallows the taking of life by the State whether for justice or for the protection of its own citizens from violence. Indeed the basis on which the Archbishops supported a modified form of capital punishment is the same as that which enables them to approve of participation in a "just war."

Though the Archbishop of York could suggest that it was naive (if not worse) to concentrate on stressing the law of forgiveness and the law of love, the fact remains that they are the overriding considerations in the teaching of Christ.

It is interesting to speculate whether Church leaders would have so constantly set themselves up as the guardians of the legal rights of the State if there had never been the alliance of Church and State.

As it is the voice of the Church sounds so little different to the voice of Caesar, even in the House of Lords, where it might have been supposed that those, whose only right to speak there derives from their spiritual office, would have been more concerned to set a limit to the claims of the State by asserting without qualification the overriding obligations of the Law of Love.

## Christian integrity

THE Vatican radio has recently been broadcasting in all Central and Eastern European languages a letter addressed by the Pope to the persecuted cardinals, bishops, priests and laity, in which his Holiness urged them to continue to show strength and loyalty in the spiritual struggle in which "they may be glorious victims but shall never be defeated."

The Pope is consoled to find that "very many are ready to sacrifice everything, even life and liberty, rather than endanger the integrity of the Catholic religion."

Because war is incompatible with the teaching of Christ and the purpose of God, approval of war under any circumstances must endanger the integrity of the Christian religion.

The readiness to sacrifice life and liberty, if necessary, in meeting violence with non-violent resistance rather than a willingness to compromise and accept war as the lesser of two evils is the only way to maintain Christian integrity and ensure the fulfilment of the purpose of God.

## Morality or expediency?

THE Editor of the Catholic Herald has taken special steps to advise Catholics to consider with care the proposal of the Soviet Foreign Minister that all further nuclear tests should be banned.

He regrets that the initiative has come from the Communist and not from the free countries who claim to live by Christian ideals but says that is no reason for turning down the proposal.

He adds that the morality of the use of

ON PAGE FIVE

# WOMEN FROM NINE COUNTRIES

From Margaret Tims

THE Friends' Meeting House in Birmingham was filled on July 27 to hear women from nine countries address a public meeting during the Thirteenth Triennial International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, President of the British Section of the League presided.

Mrs. Narayanaswamy (India), a social worker and Secretary of the Madras branch of the League, brought greetings from the land of Mahatma Gandhi. "Gandhiji has given us the weapon of non-violence," she said.

"We achieved independence through non-violence and we propose to maintain our independence through non-violence, and to help others to do the same."

Mme. Yvonne See (France) is a writer who has also studied philosophy and painting. She spoke as a woman. From the time of Adam and Eve, men and women desired to possess knowledge.

All discovery was double-edged and could be used to destroy or to heal.

"Everything comes back to human conscience," she said, and the divorce between knowledge and conscience could not continue much longer.

Miss Tano Jodai (Japan) is President of the Japan Women's University and of the Japanese Section of the WILPF.

In England, as in Japan, there was the same need for a new, constructive education for the new, atomic age.

She appealed for support in maintaining Japan's peace constitution.

Mme. Else Zeuthen (Denmark), a member of the Danish Parliament, described nuclear weapons as "the greatest devilry that man has ever conceived."

A good housewife would not spend her money this way. It should be spent on education, housing, hospitals, and other social services, and on aid to the poorer countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Miss Erna Harris (USA), Chairman of the League in Berkeley, California, is a journalist and has worked for the American Friends Service Committee.

The alternative to violence, she said, was non-violence. Non-violence could accomplish change quickly; could settle conflicts and maintain order; and could recruit those most deeply involved on opposing sides.

Frau Hoppstock-Huth (Germany), President of the German Section of the WILPF represents the Social-Democrats on the Hamburg city council.

She recalled the help sent by British Quakers to Germany and Austria after World War I. After World War II many Germans had hoped for a totally disarmed Germany as the starting point for world disarmament, but Germany had become a battle-ground in the cold war.

Now a conscription law had been passed, although 75 per cent of the population opposed conscription.

Peaceful reunification of Germany, on which the future of Europe depended, could only be achieved by negotiation. The German Section is working for this.

Mrs. Rosenzweig (Israel) has lived in Palestine for twenty years and is Secretary of the Israeli Section of the League.

The great task of Israel, she said, was to provide homes for the homeless, to produce food in a hungry world, and to rehabilitate spiritually as well as physically the destitute refugees who came to Israel robbed of their faith in their fellow men.

Israel would favour an Arab federation, whereby she could live peacefully with the Semitic peoples to whom the Jews belong.

Miss Vera Brittain, a Vice-President of the British Section, described the previous speeches as a microcosm of the world's problems.

The British contribution did not seem to have been very constructive: a year ago we decided to make the H-bomb, a development of the atomic bomb, which, in turn, had arisen out of the obliteration bombing policy during the war.

But there was also an awareness by the people that we must have peace; the only problem was how to get it.

We must work for a more Christian society, and must alter the common processes of our thought to meet the situation facing us.

Miss Marie Lous-Mohr (Norway), International Chairman, referred to the visit of Nansen to Birmingham after World War I. When the governments of the world refused his appeal for the cost of half a battle-ship to relieve starvation, the people responded.

"It is the simple question of loving one's neighbour," she said. The policy of the WILPF was always, and remains, the creation of a peaceful world by total, universal disarmament.

Considerable progress in education has been made in recent years in the Arab states, but none of them have so far been able to provide even primary education on a free and compulsory basis for the entire age-group involved. This is stated in a report published recently—"Compulsory Education in the Arab States"; HMSO. 5s.—as the latest addition to the Unesco series of studies on compulsory education.



Ian Dixon, Secretary of the Pacifist Youth Action Group, speaking at an "Objective Peace" meeting at Salisbury on July 7.

## Doukhobors linked to WRI

THE Union of Doukhobors of Canada have affiliated with the War Resisters International. The Doukhobors' ancestors left Russia during the Czarist regime, in protest against militarisation, and settled in Canada.

The decision to affiliate with the WRI was made at the Eighth Annual Convention of the Doukhobors, held in Calgary, Alberta, on July 7-9.

Attending the convention were representatives from Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.

The Doukhobors reaffirmed their belief in non-violence as a method for settling world and local problems, and their objection to the policy of universal conscription, whether in peace-time or war.

Capital punishment, they declared, should be abolished.

On questions of colour bar, they condemned the policy of apartheid, and of all other similar prejudicial policies designed to give an unfair advantage to one man against another.

Freedom of speech on the air was stressed—it was resolved that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation should allow minority groups more free radio time in the interests of better understanding.

An interesting feature of the discussions and resolutions was the attitude taken by the community of Doukhobors toward present-day education.

### FREE FROM HATE

Because public and high schools "teach" war and genocide, the Doukhobors have refrained from sending their children to such schools.

They have argued that under the present United Nations Convention, genocide is a crime. Genocide is defined by the convention as acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group.

Of elementary and secondary education, the Doukhobors said that they tended to leave the child vulnerable to indoctrination and a false feeling of narrow patriotism.

It was therefore resolved that education in schools should be free from any emphasis on the glorifications of human practices such

as hate, prejudice and war, including preparations for war.

"The Doukhobor Story," a film scenario prepared by the Doukhobors at the request of the National Film Board and ultimately rejected by that company, was to have been shown on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television programme, "Perspective."

The Doukhobors regret the rejection, as such a film would have helped to clear up much misunderstanding and confusion of thought concerning the community life of the sect. They are therefore trying to persuade the NFB to reconsider their rejection.

## No conscription for E. Germany

From HENRY HOLM

THE East German Government announced, two days before Bonn's Parliament was due to vote on raising an army of half-a-million men for the Federal Republic, that the National Army would be reduced from 120,000 to 90,000, and that there would be no conscription.

This, incidentally, solved the problem of the conscientious objectors whose numbers were multiplying rapidly throughout the East Zone.

The following first-hand story shows why Moscow has decided not to take the risks obviously involved in forcing East Germans to serve against their will. The Russians prefer to rely on their own Russian forces.

Helmut, aged 24, works in a garment factory in the Soviet zone and is known to be a vocal anti-militarist. He refused to work on military uniforms for women and soon found he had a large following among the workers. A delegation informed the plant foreman of their refusal and found that he was in agreement with them.

He merely turned the case over to the factory representative of the Communist Party.

The latter, instead of rising in anger and threatening punishment, merely stated that he could understand the delegation's views, while warning them, however, that a Government investigation might ensue.

Two days later an order came to suspend all work on the uniforms and to put a completely different line of garments into production. No investigation took place, the workers were never molested, and not many weeks elapsed before the East German Government announced with considerable fanfare that there would be no conscription.—WAP.

## Non-violent defence

CECIL HINSHAW, a former president of William Penn College, and secretary-designate for peace education for the American Friends (Quakers) Service Committee, after talking at Sacramento recently, received a telephone call from a reporter of a local newspaper. "During the first part of your talk last night," he said, "I thought it was the craziest thing I had ever heard. But as you went along you answered all my questions. What you said makes a lot of sense."

The reporter went on to urge Hinshaw to try to get his concept of non-violent national defence published in Reader's Digest. When Hinshaw's new pamphlet on the subject is available, the reporter plans to review it in his newspaper.

## WAR: WE SAY NO

AS you read this the international conference on the problems connected with the Suez Canal will be in session. This is not the place to comment on the situation except to say that we will all be hoping that wise counsels will prevail.

We are quite certain that it is not by the threat or use of force but only by the full application of pacifist principles that justice can be done and peace prevail.

Whatever the result of the conference we will stand firm against the use of violence or any action which would involve the world in war.

When a situation like this arises we should all be grateful for the witness of pacifists in the past who have helped to undermine the traditional belief in the efficacy of violence.

Glad, too, that there is a fellowship which really stands for the peaceful settlement of disputes and can point out to the Government where we believe they are wrong.

So I ask you to help and encourage us in our work, especially at this time, and express your belief in the application of pacifist principles to the Suez Canal dispute by sending us a generous contribution to Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1956: £1,150  
Amount received to date: £624

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.



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## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

### SINGING Ballet in photos

Dorothy Morton reviews

**Work and Sing.** An International Song Book, 96 pp. and,

**Look Away,** 48 pp. (Delaware, Ohio; Co-operative Recreation Service, 25 cents each) obtainable through Housmans Bookshop, 2s. 3d. post free.

ONE of the pleasures missed by those who have never been to work camps is that of singing together when the pick-and-shovel work of the day is over.

It was from such occasions that there grew the International Songbook with its contributions from countries as remote from one another as Japan and Finland, Canada and the Philippines.

The songs appear in their native tongue, but in nearly all cases there are translations as well. These inevitably lose much of the spontaneity of the originals, but there is no such barrier to enjoyment of the charm and freshness, joy or pathos of the tunes.

There is an absence of songs of African origin, for work camps in Africa and with African co-operation are largely a future development, but this is partly rectified by a companion volume of about fifty American Negro folk songs—mostly Spirituals but a few secular songs also.

Some of these are familiar to all of us but there are less well-known ones too. Both books can be sincerely recommended.

### Labour & housing

Wilfred Wellock reviews

**Homes of the Future.** (London, Labour Party, 9d.)

THIS pamphlet presents a fully-fledged housing programme to be launched by the next Labour Government. Its main proposals are the social ownership of all rent-controlled houses, largely for the purpose of reconditioning and modernising out-of-date property, encouraging and assisting occupier-ownership of houses and carrying through a big house-building scheme, including the building of new towns.

At a time when our "expanding economy" is breaking down, when exports cannot keep pace with consumption, and when automation will increase production all round and thus the competition for markets, the financial demands of this scheme would appear to be unwise, to say the least.

It would swallow up large acreages of agricultural land, which would aggravate our export problem by the necessity of importing still more food.

Our vital need is to pass from a quantitative to a qualitative civilisation and way of life. This would ease the export problem, and enable large numbers who desire to emigrate to do so, while a smaller population would immediately help to solve both our housing and our school problems.

The idea of the social control of house reconditioning is excellent, but to buy out all rent-controlled houses in the conditions of today seems most unwise.

Moreover occupier-ownership of houses is incompatible with the necessity for mobile labour under automation.

Even the housing problem is closely associated with the problems of social stability and peace.

Our first need is to attend to our spiritual and cultural foundations. Thereafter the solution of most of our social problems will be much easier.

### STEPS TO PEACE

**Seven Steps to Peace,** by Ruth Bjorkman Samson. (New York: Exposition Press, \$4.)

THIS book is so tightly packed with facts, figures, capital letters, charts, diagrams and quotations that, added to the author's rather disjointed literary style and the fact that the text is printed throughout in bright blue, it makes difficult reading.

Nevertheless, Mrs. Samson's seven point plan for peace, which is based on the absolute and unconditional renunciation of war, has much in it that would naturally commend itself to pacifists.

T.R.D.

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**Hungarian Rhapsody.** The Hungarian State Folk Ensemble. (Budapest: Corvina Press, London: Collets, 35s.)

THESE are numerous expensive books with glossy plates illustrating ballet dancers, who all look much alike, in stiff and formal poses that are not very dissimilar. Balletomania seems never to tire of them, but others, if they would like something more varied and spontaneous, should try this handsome quarto volume.

It contains four short introductions dealing with the Ensemble, the Dance Group, the Orchestra and the Chorus, and then 168 photographs and beautiful, delicately-coloured drawings of singers, dancers, musicians and peasant costumes.

There is something of interest in every picture—girls dancing with bottles balanced on their heads, men skipping with ropes of raffia, a series on the peasant Wedding Dance—and every one seems to be thoroughly enjoying it. Who ever saw a ballet dancer doing that?

T.R.D.

### Methodist pacifism

**I am Persuaded,** A Methodist Statement of the Christian Pacifist Case, 12pp. (London, Methodist Peace Fellowship, 6d.)

THIS is an excellently clear attempt to give a reason for the faith that is in us, and deserves wide circulation.

It starts with an often needed reminder that what Christian pacifists are opposed to is war, and that the essence of war is that it involves the killing of human beings.

It is not to be identified with the mere use of force, or even with the use of force against human beings; one may use a considerable amount against a criminal and still be able to reform him, but once a man has been killed the last chance of doing anything about him has been destroyed.

It concludes with a declaration that there are a few things that for a Christian are unconditionally forbidden. The Christian pacifist puts participation in war among them, and no calculation of possible consequences can make any difference.

With unusual bluntness it says "Even if it could be shown that the consequences of pacifism would surpass in their horror all the consequences of war, indeed even if it could appear to be proved that war would establish God's rule on earth . . . we should have to refuse to take part in it, for war involves us in deeds and attitudes that are unconditionally forbidden."

T.R.D.

### VINOBA

Leslie Gillespie reviews

**Vinoba and His Mission,** by Suresh Ramabhai. Akhil Bharat Sarv Seva Sangh, India.

SRI VINOBA BHAVE, one of the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, through selfless devotion to the cause of suffering humanity in India has evoked the same universal love as the master: a kind of aspiring holiness and passionate self-denial which only Hindus seem to understand and practise in the twentieth century.

*Bhoodan Yagna* or "The Gift of Land," as described here by Mr. Ramabhai, may best be defined as Gandhi's gospel of non-violence in action; it is the method Vinoba has chosen to dispel the abysmal famine and squalor that still characterise India more than seven years from the day of her political independence.

In an introduction to the book, Mr. Radhakrishnan, the Indian Vice-President, records that millions of peasants are still helpless against the yearly ravages of death and disease and will continue to be so for many years to come, unless a great miracle comes to pass.

Something like it has certainly begun with the vigorous efforts of the founder of *Bhoodan*.

The gift of these lands from the rich Indian *zamindars* (landowners) took place under no kind of compulsion, but came as a sincere and compassionate response to a new leader's call.

Vinoba, working quite independently of the Government, made it clear that he was not begging on his knees for these donations of land to be distributed among the hungry; in his mind this is at once a true interpretation of the Vedas and the only possible salvation for India if she is going to be any better off under a Government of her own.

Photographs of Vinoba show a tall, bony figure dressed in a loin-cloth, surrounded wherever he goes by a group of disciples. The likeness to Gandhi is always there, except that the apostle's face, framed in a rich, straggling beard, is much more cheerful.

Mr. Ramabhai, absolutely faithful to his subject, has written an interesting book, albeit with certain stylistic extravagances in his English.

He is very "hot on the British tyrants," which is natural in any Indian writer. It is indeed amazing that so much of the past has already been forgiven and forgotten.

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## FOREIGN POLICY AT CHICAGO

By Homer A. Jack

Chicago, Illinois

SUPPORTING the presidential candidates in the tempestuous American election campaign from now until November will be two party platforms. These are traditionally constructed a few days before the convention. They may or may not be crucial to the success of either candidate. They may or may not herald a change in American policies, especially toward other lands. They may or may not be mere "campaign oratory."

But America and the world are watching the 108 Democrats as they patiently construct plank by plank the platform for Adlai Stevenson to stand on.

The Democratic Platform Committee has been holding open hearing for five days in a hotel facing Windy Lake, Michigan. Hearings were held on a dozen domestic issues—agriculture, education, housing, conservation, atomic energy, civil rights—and foreign policy.

For one solid day the Committee heard almost four dozen witnesses on foreign policy. These represented both general purpose organisations in America and groups specialising in foreign affairs.

Several federalist groups asked for world federation to end war and a "resolute, unswerving, and relentless pursuit" of a system of enforceable disarmament. Most groups urged greater US economic aid to underdeveloped countries, on a long-term basis, and increasingly channelled through the UN. There was good support for SUNFED—the Special UN Fund for Economic Development.

Problems of the Middle East and Israel were hotly debated. The Democrats are likely to continue their support of Israel, especially in the face of the Suez crisis.

### reaction

A certain number of extreme right and left-wing organisations appeared to testify. One rightist group was For America, which insists that in America "internationalist leadership has captured both parties"—which it deplores!

In dead seriousness For America asked both parties to "protect the independence of the US, maintain peace with honor, and destroy the Communist conspiracy and abolish socialistic bureaucracy."

Left-wing groups on the list to appear before the Committee included the Chicago Women for Peace and the Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Another reactionary group which testified was the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the UN. The name tells the story and single purpose of this group which impressively boasts sponsorship from 24 Senators, 97 Congressmen, and eight former ambassadors. It is asking both parties to oppose the seating of Communist China in the UN in an effort to "uphold international morality."

Many liberal Americans are sponsors of this committee, including Senators Paul Douglas, H. Alexander Smith, and Richard L. Neuberger. Spokesmen for this Committee freely hinted at a plot already under way to admit Communist China to the UN after the November presidential elections.

The tragedy of present-day American liberalism is that only one non-Communist organisation dared speak up at the Democratic hearings in favour of the admission of People's China to the UN—the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Its representative, Mrs. Frederick G. Weideman, boldly looked at the television lights and asserted: "A realistic approach to these problems requires that the People's Republic of China be represented in the UN and related agencies; it is time to realise that the solution of problems, such as political settlements and disarmament, require the participation of the

world's most populous nation."

She also called for the beginning of cultural exchanges with China—on the very day that the Department of State forbid American reporters to enter the mainland of China. Mrs. Weideman also called for cessation of nuclear tests, universal disarmament, and respect for unaligned countries.

Twenty-eight organisations, including the Friends Committee on National Legislation (Quakers), YWCA, and several national church groups, joined in a statement presented by the American Association for the United Nations. This urged settlement of such problems as Israel, Kashmir, and Formosa "within the spirit of the Charter and the framework of the UN."

They admitted that "the growing weight of armaments threatens the economic stability and well-being of all nations, including our own." They called for a "strong and effective security system rooted in the UN" and urged "unremitting pursuit" of disarmament.

The Americans for Democratic Action, representing the left-wing "independents" of the Democratic Party, accused the Eisenhower administration of indulging in a "frenzy of pactomania." It asked that America "de-militarise" its foreign aid programme, channelling more funds through the UN and "challenging" the Soviet Union to do likewise. It asked for a UN trusteeship for Formosa "pending self-determination by the Formosan people."

While the Middle East was in everybody's minds during the hearings, other specific problems in Asia or Africa were hardly mentioned. The American people, and their organisations, have little to say today about the political problems of the remnants of colonialism in Asia and throughout Africa. The liberal groups mumble something about self-government, but always in the most general terms.

One exception at the hearings was Toward Freedom, an anti-colonial newsletter published in Chicago. William B. Lloyd, Jr., editor and spokesman, asked the Democrats to launch a "full-scale Congressional study of American policy regarding Indo-China during and since World War II" as a follow-up of Dulles' "brink of war" boast.

Lloyd urged that the US give full support to UN mediation in "potential colonial trouble spots like Kenya or Singapore, as well as in active conflicts like that in Algeria." In relation to Portuguese colonies, including Goa, Lloyd asked the Democrats to insist that all new UN members list their non-self-governing territories for information reports to the UN before taking their seats in the General Assembly this coming November.

Lloyd stated: "Such an aggressive US policy would help mend the damage caused to our relations with Asia by Secretary Dulles' remarks about Goa."

### disarmament

The Consultative Peace Council, an agency incorporating 16 national organisations in America (including American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, etc.) gave a short statement on disarmament and civil defence. It evidenced "great misgivings concerning the current civil defence programme."

It stated that "the only realistic defence

□ ON BACK PAGE

## A child's life of Gandhi

The Boer War

Last week we read about Gandhi's life at home with Kasturba, his young wife, and his four sons. He had taught himself to wash his clothes, to iron, and to cut his own hair.

WHEN the Boer war broke out between the British and the Boers (or Dutch people settled in South Africa) Gandhi's sympathy was on the side of the Boers. But he was a subject of the British Empire and he felt it was his duty to serve the side to which he belonged.

He did not want to fight and shed the blood of others, but he was not afraid of risking his life.

So he collected together as many Indian friends as he could and made them take a course in ambulance work. He also took this

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO  
THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

course. As soon as they had got their certificates, Gandhi offered their services to the British Government.

They were about 1,100 men in all, and they did very brave work, even reaching the wounded within the firing line. They were much praised for this, and the newspapers even published verses about them and their bravery. Up till that time the British had had the idea that Indians were not brave at all. Now they had changed their minds.

Whilst doing this ambulance work, Gandhi and his friends came much together with English soldiers. They did not find these

soldiers proud at all, but very friendly and grateful for the good which the Indians were doing for their wounded.

They behaved to the Indians like brothers.

AMONG the Indians forming the Ambulance Corps, too, there were no feelings of pride about caste, or quarrels on account of religion. Hindus, Muslims and Christians—all were as friendly as could be.

The danger in which they now lived, with guns booming about them, made them all understand that there is but one God and He is the Father of all.

From this we see that even a cruel war can be a blessing if it makes men understand this great truth.

One of the greatest services that Gandhi did for the Indians was the way in which he made them see their faults. As soon as the war was over, he returned to his task with new zeal.

He continually told the Indians that if they wanted to enjoy all their rights as citizens, they must make themselves worthy of those rights.

If, for example, they wanted to live in the nice quarters reserved for Europeans, they must show, by always being tidy and clean, that they were able to keep these quarters in good condition.

There is no doubt that a large number of Indians had become careless and slovenly in their habits, and Gandhi would not allow this any longer.

He wanted his people to be as clean and orderly as any other people in the world.

He never accepted any excuse for laziness, and since they all loved him for his goodness to them, even the very laziest people tried to improve to please him.

NEXT WEEK: Gandhi returns to India.

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The Soviet strategists have in any case nothing to lose and may gain immensely. They face no such risks, it is being correctly pointed out here, as in the Korean War or the Berlin Blockade of 1948.

If the storm is somewhat weathered without too obvious loss of face for the West, it will be abundantly clear that it was because the Soviet Union did not want the crisis to get out of hand, and so its reputation as peace-maker in contrast to the "troublemakers" of the capitalist, imperialist world will be enhanced.

It is once again apparent that the "in-between" and so-called underdeveloped nations occupy an increasingly important position and that the main hope for peace is in a truly independent "third way" policy.

It is in this context saddening that the French Socialist Party should actually be the chief group in the French government and that the British Labour Party should, as it is reported here, be "ranged firmly behind Sir Anthony Eden in the policy of firmness towards Nasser."

It is, on the other hand, heartening to a good many here that the Tribune in London should be calling for a "stop to this Suez madness" and that Aneurin Bevan should make the proposal of "world control for all the commercial waterways."

Panama incidentally has not been invited to the London Conference!

Cheers for the Manchester Guardian also for asserting that "at present there is no possible warrant for using force."

#### CHINESE TROOPS AND BURMA

It is well in order to keep the picture of the continuous power conflict in perspective to point out that several hundred Chinese Communist troops are occupying territory on the not clearly defined border of Burma.

This serves the immediate purpose of the Communist bloc to keep things stirred up in more than one place at a time.

Most importantly, the Chinese move is intended presumably to bring pressure on former Premier U Nu of Burma and on his party which still holds office. U Nu has tried as hard as any political figure in the world to follow a neutral course; but he has since early this year been disturbed by Communist infiltration in his country.

U Nu, as Peace News readers will recall, resigned the premiership a couple of months ago because he wished at least for a time to devote his energies to building his own Socialist party.

For the devout Buddhist that he is, he used very forceful and picturesque language recently about the Communist infiltration: "One main problem arises from the existence of those inside the country who have no compunction about playing the part of stooges, spies, fifth columnists and veritable sons of bitches for distant aunts."

Could not a free, unified and unarmed Germany be a step to world disarmament?

#### THINK

Facts available in library

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Relch (Germany)

Plan

Educate self and others

Act

Care

Earn the free and peaceful world we want.

#### NOW

Ruth Neuendorffer  
34 Harwood Ave.  
North Tarrytown,  
New York, U.S.A.

#### What are pacifists doing?

WHEN Sybil Morrison does not see the Family Service Units as "non-violent," since hundreds of non-pacifists believe in and take part in, this kind of work (my italics) she equates pacifism with non-violent resistance against oppression.

Then later in her letter she infers that the British pacifist cannot express his pacifism through non-violent resistance because in Britain there is no oppression.

Surely both assumptions are incorrect.

Non-violent resistance to oppression does not cease to be non-violent because non-pacifists take part in it.

Few of the Indians who followed Gandhi's lead were convinced individual pacifists, and this is probably true wherever non-violent resistance on the Gandhian pattern is being practised today.

It is on this fact rather than on any other that the Third Way Movement bases its belief that pacifists and non-pacifists can be brought together in what may ultimately become a mass movement (in the best sense) with much better chances of preventing war than pacifists on their own can ever hope to achieve.

Secondly, there is oppression in Britain today, even though few are conscious of it as such.

There may be few unemployed, but there are homeless, cold, hungry and neglected people enough, and much of this misery is directly attributable to war expenditure.

In the United States (yes, even in white communities) means to resist precisely the same sort of oppression have been devised, notably refusal to pay taxes.

Next door to us in Wales pacifists and non-pacifists in Plaid Cymru (The Welsh Party) have shown another way to conduct non-violent resistance—by lying in the way of Army transport.

The study of non-violent techniques, the use of imagination in adapting known methods to British conditions, and experiment with new methods where old ones fail is a long overdue exercise here in England.

Let us hope that Reginald Reynolds's article will inspire pacifists and non-pacifist readers of Peace News to get together this winter as never before, and that Sybil Morrison will refresh the springs of her oratory by joining in the study and the debate.

JOHN BANKS,

Hon. Secretary, Third Way Movement.

12 High St.,  
London, N.W.3.

I have no copy of my own article handy, but I am amazed at what Sybil Morrison found in it. Did I really say that a person's name had to "end with an 'O' or an 'I' or a 'Ski'," if he or she aims to be effective? It sounds very odd.

And did I say pacifists were to fight, or that they should not sell Peace News?

Equally odd. I'm getting very tired of explaining that an author or speaker does not believe writing and speaking are quite unnecessary. Why am I writing now in PN?

What does Sybil think I'm doing here in USA?

What does concern me is that such activities are not enough. Yes, Gandhi wrote and spoke, too.

But who would care, were it not for what he was and what he did?

Are we satisfied that we have been equally effective in Britain?

There is no need—as Sybil suggests (or suggests that I suggest)—to look round for methods of slavish imitation. No sane person goes looking for laws to break.

But Gandhi was much more than a professional law-breaker. He was a man who practised his principles. Is that so irrelevant to his success and our failure?

I only mentioned Family Service Units and Work Camps as well-known examples of a type of activity open to some of us.

Did I suggest that this was an exhaustive list of all we could do?

And what is meant by the suggestion that an FSU is "not nonviolent"? Is it violent?

Is it or is it not a way of showing a better way of life? If non-pacifists help in such work, that's fine.

The tragedy is that we too often leave the job of showing a better way to non-pacifists—just as so many Christians leave the demonstration of Christianity to a Hindu like Gandhi or an agnostic like Heinz Kraschutski.

As to what a teacher can do by living pacifism rather than preaching it, I just happened to know one.

His influence on generations of boys and girls at Saffron Walden School was immeasurable.

So why must "the sermon be preached"? The hell with sermons. They make people feel violent—as I do at this moment, God help me.

And I'm very, very tired by talk about what people can do at home as though it was an alternative to what can be done abroad.

Many of our work-campers from abroad (not all of them pacifists) have helped people in Britain to a better understanding of international relations. Can't a British work-camper (or any other person) do the same in another country, or is it to be only a one-way traffic?

In fact, of course, most of our work-campers stay in Britain. They reach people who could never buy Peace News. So why sneer at them?

I'm not concerned with "lives that are above reproach" but with lives that make people ask questions about the source and inspiration of a pacifist's life and work. That's the true gambit.

No time to look this through. My train is about to leave for Georgia, where action counts more than "sermons".

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

Philadelphia, Pa.

#### Suez

I MUST protest against the suggestion contained in Roy Sherwood's "Suez Commentary" that a pacifist would advise "all shipowners accepting British and French advice would be urgently requested not to use the Canal." The undersigned pacifist, and I hope many others, would do no such thing.

In the remainder of his article Roy Sherwood very effectively deals with the tension created by Britain and France in relation to the Egyptian affairs.

Indeed I would suggest that it is very unlikely that the Canal question would have been dealt with in this particular fashion if it had not been for the prior attitude of the Western countries.

Roy Sherwood agrees that the action of the Egyptian Government was perfectly legal. The general consensus of enlightened opinion in this country is that it is in the vital interests of Egypt that the Canal should continue to operate effectively.

He also states that the question of international control is being treated with too much importance. Why then does Roy Sherwood's "pacifist" seek reprisals of this nature; what is his pacifist trying to force from Egypt?

Mr. Sherwood's article seems to imply that he speaks in the name of the pacifist movement. This impression is likely to be strengthened by the Peace Pledge Union's reproduction of the article as a leaflet.

I must say I can find no distinctive approach in Roy Sherwood's article. A pacifist policy should be based on love and understanding and compassion to assist in raising the miserable standards of the Egyptian masses.

In my mind the pacifist who equates the

#### MORRIS

\* FROM  
PAGE THREE

H-bombs is, to say the least, in question, and that "this being so, there seems to be every reason why Catholics should support the Soviet initiative it, as seems at first sight, the proposal involves no danger of the Soviet Union gaining through it any military ascendancy over the free world."

Does the Editor of the Catholic Herald really mean that Catholics are only to do what is right when they run no risks thereby?

To allow what is right for a Christian to do to depend on how it effects Soviet plans is to substitute expediency for morality and to give the last word to Bulganin and not to Christ.

#### 'A moral revolution'

FOR the first time since the Communist revolution in China in 1949 a Bishop of the "Holy Catholic Church of China" is visiting Britain.

Bishop Ting Kwong Hsiao of Chekiang is here primarily to take part in the Consultative Committee which plans the agenda for the Lambeth Conference in 1958.

The Bishop has stated that for the Chinese Christian the changes which have taken place are not regarded merely as a change of dynasty. They had produced a profound moral revolution and can only be thought of as part of the purpose of God.

It is hoped that all the seventeen members of the Chinese House of Bishops will attend the Lambeth Conference and there is no doubt that they will have a valuable contribution to make.

#### Toleration or persecution

THE Archbishop of York who recently lead the Anglican deputation to a conference with the heads of the Russian Church, regards the visit as worth while and hopes that it has helped the two Churches to grow closer together.

Though he found freedom of religion within the Soviet Union no religious teaching of any kind was allowed in schools and active anti-religious propaganda was carried on in many ways by the Communist party.

In certain places the Church today is living under circumstances similar to those which the early Christians experienced.

It would appear that effective Christian witness may be in greater danger from the toleration of the Church than from its persecution by the State.

question of the Suez with a normal business transaction, "withdrawal of custom on the occasion of a change of ownership," and who is willing for negotiation to take place under these circumstances has got the whole question out of perspective.

The question boils down to whether a pacifist policy based on voluntary suffering and conversion of one's opponent coupled with a burning desire to seek the truth is practical. Roy Sherwood's article seemed to suggest otherwise.

RON KEATING.

43 Milford Gardens,  
Wembley, Middlesex.

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SMOKING AND CANCER. Morris Mulholland. Monday, August 20, 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Westminster. London National Health Society, 2s.

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PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the dispatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. 3 Blackstock Rd., Lavant Park and Cook, stationery, Plumtree Park (near N.4).

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#### DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, August 17  
BELLINGHAM: 7.45 p.m.: 97 King Alfred Ave. Rev. Anthony Bailey, MA. Colour Bar, Law and Religion in South Africa. Fellowship Party.

Sunday, August 19  
KENT: 1.30 p.m.: Countess Stoves, Near Ashford. Open Air Nature Service. Rev. Will Hayes. "To be a Pilgrim." Tea at Ashford Priory. Meet at 10 a.m. Platform 1, Victoria Stn. Bring lunch. Visitors Welcome. PPU Religion Commission.

Every week!

FRIDAYS  
SHIPLEY: 7.15 p.m.: Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

SATURDAYS  
LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.: Pier Head. Open-air meeting. Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS  
LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembroke Villas, W.11.

SUNDAYS  
GLASGOW: Open-air mtg. Queens Pk. Victoria Rd. 7.45 p.m.; Glasgow PPU. LEYDE: PARK: 4 p.m.: Pacific Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS  
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate, Blitz. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local pacifist ministers and others. MPV.

THURSDAYS  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Howland Road. B.10 and B.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON: W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly Fellowship Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of various denominations.

LONDON: W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard, 10, 6 Finsbury St. Pacific Youth Action Group.

Thursday, August 30  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group discussion. PPU.

Saturday, September 1  
HUGBY: Pacifist Demonstration. PPU.

Saturday, September 15  
LONDON: N.W.11: London Area Garden Party. King Alfred School, North Bad Rd. Peace Pledge Union.

Sunday, September 16  
BELLINGHAM: 8 p.m.: St. Dunstons Hall. Branch Trust on Peace and War. Rev. Anthony Bailey, MA (A.P.P.), Ronald Millone, BA (Fellowship Party) and others. Fellowship Party.

LONDON: W.C.2: 2.30 p.m.: Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., W.C.1. Conf. for prospective conscientious objectors. Speaker: discussion, rev. Society of Friends.

Saturday, October 6  
CROYDON: 4-6 p.m.: Adult School Hall. Surrey Area Social. Children's Tea Party and Conductor: Stalls and evening entertainment. Peace Pledge Union.

EPSON: 7.30 p.m.: Myers Hall (behind Ebbisham Hall), Ashley Rd. "Any Questions." Panel: Ritchie Calder, CBE, James L. Henderson, Sybil Morrison, Minnie Patterson, E. C. Redhead, MP. Chair, Austin J. Rees. Subject: "International Relations." Epson and District Peace Fellowship, 55 Culverhay, Ashford, Surrey.

Saturday, October 20  
CAMBRIDGE: Pacifist Demonstration. PPU.

Saturday, October 27  
LONDON: W.C.1: 6-9 p.m.: Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Meeting of Area and Group representatives. PPU.

Sunday, October 28  
LONDON: W.C.1: 10 a.m.-12.30 p.m.: Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Meeting of Area and Group representatives. PPU.

Saturday, November 3  
LONDON: W.1: Welsh Ho. Ch. Bazaar. Religion Commission, Peace Pledge Union.



# KEIR HARDIE CENTENARY

Hardie was already worn out with his long agitation to build up a Labour Party in Britain and the Labour Party's decision to support the war and take part in a recruiting campaign was a great blow to him.

"I really could not see what Hardie could do but die," wrote Bernard Shaw. "Could we have expected him to hang on and sit there among the poor slaves who imagined themselves Socialists until the touchstone of war found them out and exposed them for what they are?"

"What was there in common between him and the men who are so heroically determined to resist conscription that they declared that nothing short of Lord Kitchener's telling them it is necessary will induce them to embrace it..."

"He was too old to wait for a new generation. Better let them kill him and be a sort of Banquo's ghost on the labour leaders until his spiritual posterity comes into its own."

Keir Hardie was not a politician in the conventional use of the word. He was a Socialist leader, a prophet, a visionary, fifty if not a hundred years in front of his time.

He was the champion of all the unpopular causes of his day, votes for women, Home Rule for India, justice for coloured peoples.

When he went to India and declared himself in sympathy with the aims of the Indian Congress, our jingo press demanded his deportation; The Times denounced him for "preaching sedition."

When he visited South Africa his sympathies for the blacks resulted in his meeting being broken up at Johannesburg and he was stoned.

## RECALL OF RESERVISTS

THE Central Board for Conscientious Objectors has issued the following advice to reservists who are called out and who wish to claim exemption on grounds of conscience.

If you are either

(a) a National Service man who has completed his whole-time and part-time service; or

(b) were a conscript or a volunteer at any time between September, 1939, and December, 1948, and did not later volunteer for reserve service,

you will be recalled under the Navy, Army and Air Force Reserves Act, 1954, and will be allowed to apply to a tribunal for exemption without being court-martialled (see next paragraph).

If you are recalled under any other Act (e.g., the Army Reserve Act), you can apply to a tribunal only if you disobey an order on grounds of conscience and are consequently court-martialled and given a sentence of three months' or more.

In any case, you are advised to get in touch immediately with the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, who will be pleased to advise you on your position.

## SUEZ

★ FROM PAGE ONE

situation and listened with care to your broadcast.

"We feel it right to let you know that a great many people, who are by no means all pacifists, cannot give your policy the support you anticipate for it."

"As pacifists we believe that war of every kind is morally wrong, but our attitude is not a negative one."

"Speaking generally, we believe that it is only by the process of real negotiation patiently and persistently applied, when the use of violence has been discarded, that any dispute can be solved, justice be done and peace prevail."

"We further believe that if and when resistance to evil becomes necessary it should be of a non-violent character."

"In the particular situation we would respectfully submit that the method of negotiation has been seriously prejudiced from the start both by the way in which the conference was planned and announced, and also by the threat that the majority decision would be enforced if necessary by military action."

### TRUE NEGOTIATION

"The 'precautions' which have been taken are not only in our view a breach of British obligations under the United Nations Charter, but are evidence of the determination of the Government to put the issue to the judgment of might rather than right."

"We would urge you to suspend mobilisation and state in advance of the conference that it is no longer the intention of the British Government to attempt to impose any decision on a reluctant Egypt by war."

"War would not be against Colonel Nasser but the Egyptian people, would certainly not solve the problems involved, and might well lead to the destruction of the Canal, if not ultimately of the whole world."

"We would beg you to pay every heed to the advice of other statesmen like Pandit Nehru and to the opinion of many of your own countrymen who believe that your policy is tragically wrong."

"We would ask you to do all in your power to enable the conference to meet in the best possible atmosphere and under those conditions which will make true negotiation a reality and a peaceful solution a possibility."

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER**

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

He denounced British imperialist rule in Egypt and his name was removed from the list of visitors to the Royal Garden Parties because of his attack on the Czar of Russia.

He was undoubtedly the most bitterly attacked member of Parliament of his day.

A man of tremendous courage, deep sincerity, true to his "inner light," absolutely incorruptible, Hardie's work in creating the Labour Party, his pioneering for Socialism is now generally recognised.

But in some ways the Labour Party has not caught up with Keir Hardie yet.

In celebrating his centenary, let us not forget his opposition to militarism and war and his vision of humanity as the great international brotherhood.

## COMMENTARY

● FROM PAGE ONE

issued a further statement making it plain that the conference will, as the three powers announced last Thursday it should, concern itself solely with the establishment of an international authority to work the Canal.

Had there been frantic telephone talks between Paris and London during the intervening hours?

SINCE the beginning of the crisis, criticism of the British and French line of action has been growing both in volume and in outspokenness; and it is significant that, even within the terms of threat-and-power politics, competent strategists have raised their voices against military measures which, in their opinion, would entail the occupation of the whole of Egypt and unite the Arab world against any invading force, leading to combined Middle East resistance, to a war of unpredictable length and extent and, almost certainly, to persistent guerilla warfare and efforts—not all of which would fail—to destroy oil wells and the canal itself.

That these pessimistic forecasts were justified has, just as this commentary is being written, been confirmed by the announcement in Cairo that the Political Committee of the nine-nation Arab League has declared "that aggression against Egypt would be considered aggression against all the other Arab countries" and by the news that refugees from Palestine in Jordan have demanded that Iraq and Saudi Arabia should nationalise the petrol companies in their countries. A further report says that these refugees intend to organise the formation of "Liberation Army" units.

So far—and it is a frightening distance—has the threat of military force to be used against Egypt already brought the Arab world.

There is surely more than a mere touch of madness in threats to launch a war mainly for the sake of a quick means of communication with certain oil wells, when that quick means of communication and the oil wells themselves are not likely to survive that very war—and this apart from the damage done already to normal relations between the West and the Arabs.

NOR will it do to underrate this danger.

Only those who are incapable of seeing things plainly can fail to realise that the Arab world is so hardened to misery and so liable to waves of fanaticism that in its present mood, wholly provoked by the threats of force against Egypt, it may well become the self-destructor of its best potentiality towards better living conditions, if thereby it can hope to injure the "enemy."

Yet the firebrand agitation in certain quarters "to bring Nasser to his senses by prompt military and naval measures" continues and no longer even hesitates about right or wrong. We are urged "to leave the legalistic aspects of the issue on one side," and the same disregard for the legal position was noticeable even in the Prime Minister's broadcast last week. He made no attempt to disprove President Nasser's right to nationalise the Canal, though he made one or two references to minor breaches of promises on Egypt's part; and, wisely, he made only a most fleeting one to the withdrawal of the American and British offers to help financing the Aswan Dam, which is responsible for the whole sad situation.

He stressed the vital importance of the Suez Canal for our own economy and living standards and accused President Nasser of wanting to use the Canal for narrowly nationalistic selfish ends. True as that may be, it is a truth that holds good for both sides. Sir Anthony is not unselfishly thinking of the Egyptians' miserable living standards when he explains that our industry needs large quantities of oil, and that the Suez Canal is an important factor in keeping it at the lowest possible price.

Charges of selfishness are merely funny in practically all international proceedings, but since Sir Anthony has made this one against President Nasser, it would be interesting to have his answer to Ex-President Truman's statement at Chicago, reported in The Times of August 11, that "he had argued for two days at the Potsdam Conference of 1945—without success—in favour of international control over the Panama Canal, the Suez Canal, the Black Sea Straits, the Rhine-Danube Canal, and the Kiel Canal." It cannot have been Egypt at that time that would not countenance the internationalisation of the world's great waterways, and it was not America.

Was it Britain, then still in control of Egypt, who objected or was it Russia—or was it both of them—and why is internationalisation right today if it was wrong in 1945?

Let it be realised that the set of troubles which the British-French co-ordination has set loose on the world in this particular case is the most serious we have had to face since the Russian blockade of Berlin.

# THE OTHER CHEEK

You mean you would just turn the other cheek and lie down and let Nasser trample on us? —Question at open-air meetings, August 11 and 12, 1956.  
... But whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also. St. Matthew, v. 39.

IT is usually professing Christians and churchgoers who cry against the pacifists with such scorn, these words of Jesus from the Sermon on the Mount. The whole idea of lying down like a poltroon and a coward to be trampled upon, immediately arouses a fervour of indignation in the hearts of otherwise perfectly mild and peaceful people.

The critical question of fighting against Nasser over the Suez Canal has resulted in an outburst of patriotic feeling among ordinary people; among people who, it might have been expected, would be sick to death of "wars and rumours of wars;" people who only a few weeks ago were totally uninterested in Nasser and Egypt, the Aswan Dam or the Suez Canal.

Now their righteous indignation against the threat of what they see as the tyrannical action of a dictator, brings forth all the old attitudes, and the well-worn clichés.

"Peace, certainly, but not appeasement;" "No one wants war—but;" "You wouldn't just turn the other cheek would you to a man like Nasser?"

All these words and many more like them were hurled at me at open-air meetings during last week-end. All the old objections to pacifism came rolling out; the horror of trying to placate a man like Hitler; the lack of arms to fight Hitler because of the pacifists going in for this terrible business of turning the other cheek.

It is amazing how it has all boiled up again in an outburst of positively war-like patriotism.

Most of those who so glibly quote from the Sermon on the Mount, and argue that it would not work, have seldom troubled to read the context seriously, certainly not with any intent to understand it.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,' but I say unto you that ye resist not evil."

This might be understood to mean doing nothing to prevent evil and lying down before it, if it were not, in fact, for those so often quoted next words: "But whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also," since to turn the other cheek, far from being a cowardly retreat is a courageous stand, a refusal to hit back and thereby engender strife, a positive and brave action for peace.

If "resist not evil" means anything at all it must mean to resist it not with evil means but with good, for the same theme of positive

## FOREIGN POLICY

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against nuclear attack is to prevent one from beginning. We should use more time, energy, and resources to stop the bomb from falling, and less in preparing to pick up the shattered pieces afterwards."

This Council further testified: "Civil defence tests tend to create an atmosphere of tension and preoccupation with war, which makes possible ever-increasing military demands and controls; by encouraging the acceptance of the inevitability of war, they weaken faith in the exploration of peaceful solutions which are our only real defence."

Are the hearings only "for the record" or will at least some of the suggestions made be incorporated into the final foreign policy plank?

Some may well find their way into the final document. There is, however, a certain moderating influence in the give-and-take of the democratic process.

Politics, in America as around the democratic world, is partly the art of compromise. "Extreme" suggestions of the left and right will be excluded.

This will filter out the neo-isolationist proposals (but probably the suggestion not to admit China to the UN will stay in), and also the progressive proposals will remain out, such as even a realistic statement on Goa, Formosa, Kenya, or Algeria.

### repeat

A 4,500-word preliminary draft of the foreign policy plank was made several weeks ago by the staff of the Democratic National Committee. A perusal of this secret document shows much study has already gone into the problem, especially in criticising the policies of Secretary Dulles. However, this early draft may be fundamentally modified and expanded after these hearings.

Despite the seriousness of the world situation, most time—and effort—will be devoted by the Platform Committee in Chicago to its civil rights plank. Here the Committee must perform the impossible: satisfy Northern Democrats, including many Negro voters, who want a strong civil rights plank, and satisfy Southern Democrats who do not want even the platitudes.

As the Democratic Platform is released in Chicago, with maximum publicity effect, an equal number of Republicans will be sitting in San Francisco for an equal number of days listening to an equal number of earnest organisational representatives.

Basically the same speeches will be made before the Republican Platform Committee. The same factors will ultimately be weighted before that document is released. Then the American voter—and the world—can compare the two platform documents, be they merely human flypaper to attract voters or rhetoric DDT to repel them.

steps to be taken against evil continues in the next two verses.

"If any man will... take away thy coat, it is not enough and not right to just let him take it, but on the contrary to find out his reason and if necessary give him 'thy cloak also.'"

And "Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile;" it is not enough to leave him at the end and turn away, but on the contrary it is right and necessary to go with him the second mile.

All these are definite actions; they are not passive, let alone cowardly cringing actions, but steps that may lead on to co-operation, understanding, and peace.

It cannot be asserted that such procedure would fail in international affairs for it has never been tried; on the contrary, the way that is advocated, and continues to be followed is one that has brought the world more than once into the chaos and cruelty and immorality of war, and will do so again if commonsense and charity cannot be made to prevail.

Fighting "to the last drop of blood," and using "force if necessary" are threats that may have to be carried out if face is to be saved; and, unfortunately, wars have been fought before for no other reason than the necessity to save face.

Face-saving is the exact opposite of turning the other cheek; there face is not saved, but suffers; suffers deliberately with courage and confidence, in the great cause of peace.

It might be well if Christians and Moslems alike were to read, and endeavour to follow, the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount.

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## JAMES KEIR HARDIE

was the most active of the founders of the

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in 1893 and was its first Chairman. Throughout his life the ILP retained prior place in his loyalties, as representing the aspirations of the working class to whose emancipation his life was dedicated. In an early article he wrote:

The ILP is a Socialist organisation, and Socialism spells Revolution, not Reform. The aim of Socialism is not to improve the lot of the worker but to abolish the working class. Our vision is not of a smug, satisfied working class, living on terms of amity with an improved set of moralised masters, but a nation of free folk.

The ILP today maintains Keir Hardie's ideals. Since 1932, when it realised the futility of Labour Party reformism, the ILP has again been independent and opposed the last world war and the war policies of the big parties since.

The ILP welcomes into membership those who wish to carry on the fight Keir Hardie began. Enquiries should be sent to the General Secretary, ILP, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

The weekly paper of the ILP is the

### Socialist Leader

which traces an unbroken continuity with the Labour Leader founded by Keir Hardie in 1894 and becoming a weekly in 1894. Harold Lunn said in 1949 of the Socialist Leader:

Only the "Commonweal" of William Morris stands by its side in equality of distinction and service.

The Socialist Leader can be obtained on order from all newsagents; or from the editorial and publishing offices, 48 Dundas Street, Glasgow, C.1., at 3d. weekly; postal rate, 5d. per copy or 4s. for 12 weeks.

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